

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 CU-02

OIC-02 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 /072 W  
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O R 021620Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4260

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5106

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE

REF: GENEVA 5049

1. SUMMARY: THE RENEWED FOLLOW-UP IMPASSE AMONG THE NINE, WHICH HAD BECOME APPARENT AT FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS JUNE 30 (REFTEL) WAS FOLLOWED BY MAJOR NEW FRENCH PUSH JULY 1 TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF ITS VIEWS ON FOLLOW-UP CONTINUITY BY NINE, FIFTEEN, AND BY THE INFORMAL FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP. EFFORT, TO PUT IT MILDLY, WAS A FAILURE. IT ALSO DAMAGED  
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NEW MOMENTUM GRADUALLY BEING DEVELOPED IN INFORMAL

WORKING GROUP UNDER SWEDISH CHAIRMANSHIP, BY MAKING IT PLAIN THAT FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES ON FOLLOW-UP CONTINUITY HAD SO FAR NOT BEEN BRIDGED. THE DENOUEMENT CAME AT NATO FOLLOW-UP CAUCUS JULY 2, WHEN UK, ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON, BROKE LONG-STANDING EC-NINE DISCIPLINE ON THIS ISSUE AND, TOGETHER WITH CANADIANS AND SEVERAL OTHER DELS SAID THAT IT COULD NO LONGER SUPPORT FRENCH ON THIS SCORE. END SUMMARY

2. MOST OF FIFTEEN, INCLUDING OURSELVES, FIRST LEARNED OF NEW FRENCH-INSPIRED FOLLOW-UP DRAFT AT NATO DELEGATION HEADS MEETING AFTERNOON JULY 1. PRIVATELY DANES MADE IT CLEAR THAT NINE HAD MOST RELUCANTLY AGREED TO PUT THIS NEW PAPER FORWARD AS THE ONLY BASIS ON WHICH FRENCH WOULD AGREE. DRAFT, TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL, MOVES BACKWARD FROM SWEDISH COMPROMISE PAPER WHICH HAD BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION IN WORKING GROUP THROUGH RENEWED EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO FOLLOW-UP MEETING IN SINGULAR WHICH IS ANATHEMA TO NEUTRALS; IMPLIES IDEA OF CONTINUITY ONLY IN AN INDIRECT WAY; BUT, ON OTHER HAND, MOVES SOME WAY IN DIRECTION OF SOVIET POSITION BY ACCEPTING MORE "POLITICIZED" MANDATE. NATO DEL HEADS WERE CLEARLY NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS THIS UNEXPECTED DRAFT IN DETAIL. ALTHOUGH LIKE MOST OF FIFTEEN, WE RESERVED POSITION, SUBJECT TO STUDY OF NEW DRAFT BY FOLLOW-UP EXPERTS, DANES INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO TABLE DRAFT AT WORKING GROUP MEETING LATER IN DAY.

3. PREDICTABLY, DANISH SUBMISSION THIS NEW TEXT IN INFORMAL WORKING GROUP JULY 1 PRODUCED STRONG REACTIONS FROM NEUTRALS, ROMANIANS, AND YUGOSLAVS; EXPRESSIONS OF DISAPPOINTMENT FROM SOVIET BLOC; NOTICEABLE SILENCE FROM ALL WESTERN DELEGATIONS EXCEPT FRENCH, MANY OF WHOM NOT ONLY DISAGREED WITH SUBSTANCE OF THIS DRAFT, BUT WERE IRRITATED OVER LACK OF CONSULTATION; AND LEAD TO THREAT OF RESIGNATION FROM THE SWEDISH CO-ORDINATOR, NARROWLY AVERTED BY PLEAS FROM MOST OF THE PARTICIPATNS THAT DISSOLUTION OF INFORMAL WORKING GROUP WOULD ONLY LEAD TO RENEWED CONFRONTATION AND STALEMATE IN THE BASKET IV COMMITTEE ITSELF.

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4. ROMANIANS LED OFF WITH FORCEFUL STATEMENT OF THEIR "PROFOUND DISAPPOINTMENT" OVER TEXT WHICH WOULD MAKE IT MUCH HARDER TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE, SINCE IT "PUT THE CLOCK BACK TO APRIL." IN RESPONSE TO FRENCH DEFENSE THAT IT IS INTENTION THIS TEXT TO "ASSURE" CONTINUITY, ROMANIANS STRESSED THAT THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN INTENTIONS IMPLIED IN TEXT, BUT IN TEXT ITSELF, SINCE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT COULD NOT BASE FOLLOW-UP ON A "GAMBLE." SIMILAR STRONG

STATEMENTS OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND CHAGRIN AT LOSS OF MOMENTUM WERE ALSO EXPRESSED BY YUGOSLAVS, AND SWISS, WHO "DEPLORED" TEXT'S LACK OF CLARITY ON CONTINUITY, AND BY FINNS WHO SAID FLATLY TEXT POSES "ENORMOUS" DIFFICULTIES AND WAS "COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE" AS NEGOTIATIONS BASIS.

5. TO MANY DELEGATIONS' SURPRISE, CRITICISM ALMOST AS STRONG EMANATED FROM THE SOVIET BLOC. THE POLISH AMBASSADOR SAID TWICE THAT HE WAS "SADDENED" BY THIS DEVELOPMENT, WHICH WAS CLEARLY A "STEP BACKWARD." MOREOVER, POLES, CZECHS AND RUSSIANS LABELLED DRAFT'S EFFORT AT MEETING THAEIR DESIRES AS TO "POLITICAL" MANDATE OF FOLLOW-UP AS INADEQUATE, INSISTING THAT TEXT MUST CONTAIN CLEAR REFERENCE TO "DETENTE." BLOC SEEMED NOT EVEN MOLLIFIED BY UNILATERAL OFFER BY FRENCH REP TO ACCEPT EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO "DETENTE" IN THIS CONTEXT IF NECESSARY, A MOVE WHICH BY NO MEANS REFLECTS SXISTENCE OF ANY SUCH UNDERSTANDING AMONG NINE; IN FACT, BLOC LATER FULLY SUPPORTED GENERAL EFFORT TO RESTORE FOCUS TO COMPRMISE TEXTS PREPARED BY SWEDISH DOORDINATOR.

6. THROUGHOUT THIS LENGTHY, OFTEN HEATED DISCUSSION, MOST OF ALLIED REPS SAT RATHER SULLENLY ON THIS HANDS, SINCE MOST OF THEM HAD NOT HAD CHANCE TO STUDY, NOR BEEN CONSULTED ON THIS TEXT. FRG REP SUGGESTED AT ONE POINT THAT PERHAPS INFORMAL WORKING GROUP SHOULD NOW ABANDON EFFORT TO SOLVE THE FOLLOW-UP CONTINUITY PROBLEM, AND HAND THE ISSUE OVER TO THE CSCE COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR SOLUTION. MOST DELS THOUGHT THIS TOO WAS WHOLLY UNCONSTRUCTIVE. AS FOR OURSELVES, WE FOUND AFTERNOON AWKWARD AND UNCOMFORTABLE, PARTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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BECAUSE OF POINTED ALLUSIONS FROM ROMANIANS, SWISS AND NUMBER OF OTHER DELEGATIONS TO EFFECT THIS TEXT WAS HARDLY A FAIR RESPONSE TO THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE THEY HAD SHOWN ONLY YESTERDAY ON QUESTION OF US LEGAL PROBLEMS ON IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE (REFTEL). WE MADE NO FORMAL COMMENT AT MEETING, BUT DID INDICATE IN CORRIDORS THAT WE HAD NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN PREPARATION OF THIS TEXT, WHICH WE WERE STILL STUDYING AND ON WHICH WE HAD RESERVED OUT POSITION.

7. MEETING ENDED WITH APPEALS FROM ALL SIDES TO SWEDISH COORDINATOR NOT TO ABANDON HIS USEFUL EFFORT. HE AGREED IN THE END, BUT CALLED FOR A DAY'S PAUSE FOR REFLECTION, POINTING OUT THAT HE DID NOT KNOW AT THIS JUNCTURE HOW CONTINUITY PROBLEM WOULD BE SOLVED.

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 5106

8. AT RENEWED NATO FOLLOW-UP CAUCUS CALLED JULY 2 BY DANES TO PICK UP PIECES, EXTENT OF FRENCH ISOLATION ON THIS ISSUE BECAME EVEN CLEARER. UK DEL REPORTED PRIVATELY TO US THAT THEY HAD BEEN "CHASTISED" ON THE PHONE BY FONOFF FOR PERMITTING THIS NEW FRENCH TEXT TO BE TABLED BY DANES ON BEHALF OF NINE ON JULY 1. AS A RESULT, FOR FIRST TIME IN HISTORY THIS ISSUE, UK SPLIT OPENLY AND SHARPLY WITH FRENCH BEFORE FIFTEEN ON INSTRUCTIONS ANNOUNCING (A) THAT THEY COULD NO LONGER FOLLOW FRENCH LEAD ON THIS POINT; AND (B) THAT LONDON ALSO WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT FORMULATION OVER FOLLOW-UP MANDATE, AND THEREFORE "REFRETTE" THE SUGGESTIONS BY "ANOTHER" DELEGATION THAT REFERECE TO "DETENTE" MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE IN THIS

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CONTEXT.

9. UK WAS FOLLOWED BY CANADIANS, TURKEY, NORWAY AND PORTUGAL, ALL OF WHOM REJECTED NEW FRENCH TEXT. REST OF CAUCUS, INCLUDING GREEKS, CONFINED ITSELF TO HOPE THAT "MOMENTUM COULD SOON BE RESTORED." US REP REITERATED THAT WE HAD NOT HAD TIME TO STUDY THIS NEW TEXT BEFORE IT WAS TABLED, AND THAT, IN VIEW OF VERY GENERAL NEGATIVE REACTION TO IT, IT WOULD NOT SEEM USEFUL BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. WE ALSO NOTED THAT, LIKE UK AND OTHER DELS, WE ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO ACHIEVING CAREFUL BALANCE IN FOLLOW-UP MANDATE BETWEEN REFERENCES TO IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE RESULTS AND CONCESSIONS TO "POLITICAL" FOLLOW-UP DESIRED BY THE SOVIETS.

10. IN THE END, THE DANES AGREED TO MEET AGAIN WITH THE SWEDISH COORDINATOR TO ATTEMPT ONCE MORE TO WORK OUT NEW, MORE HELPFUL LANGUAGE. IT WAS STILL NOT CLEAR, HOWEVER, TO WHAT EXTENT THE FRENCH WOULD NOW BE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE EVEN LIMITED CONCESSIONS.

11. COMMENT AND REQUESTED ACTION: IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR THAT, AS A RESULT THESE LATEST EVENTS, EC NINE MAY WELL BE IN PROCESS OF PARTING COMPANY ON FOLLOW-UP CONTINUITY, UNLESS FRENCH QUICKLY MODIFY POSITION. FROM US VIEWPOINT PRESENT DIVISIONS OFFERS CLEAR OPPORTUNITY FOR SLIGHT BUT IMPORTANT MODIFICATION OF OUR OWN POSITION IN THE DIRECTION OF GIVING OUT SUPPORT TO THE MAINSTREAM OF EC NINE OPINION ON FOLLOW-UP CONTINUITY, ALONG LINES ALREADY SUGGESTED GENEVA'S 4876; INCLUDING ACCEPTANCE OF "MEETINGS" IN THE PLURAL. SUCH ADJUSTMENT WOULD OBTAIN OUR SHARING, MORE THAN IS NECESSARY, GENERAL BLAME FOR THIS RENEWED IMPASSE; WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED BY MAINSTREAM OF ALLIES, AS WELL AS BY NEUTRALS, ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS; AND IS ALMOST ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED IN PERSUADING THE NEUTRALS AND OTHERS, QUICKLY AND GRACEFULLY TO ACCEPT THE CHANGES WE NEED IN LEGAL IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE IN THE REMAINING PARAGRAPHS OF THE FOLLOW-UP TEXT.

12. WE WOULD THEREFORE VERY MUCH APPRECIATE HAVING  
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DEPARTEMENT'S PROMPT INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS SCORE, IF AT

ALL POSSIBLE BY NOON JULY 3 FOR USE IN NATO CAUCUS AND  
WORKING GROUP MEETINGS SCHEDULED THAT AFTERNOON. DALE

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